

THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME THIRTY-EIGHT

FIRST QUARTER, 1944

The Binding of Books Printed by
William Caxton

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WITH the possible exception of Ludwig Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Stuttgart & Paris, 1826-1838, no bibliographical reference work has stood the test of time more successfully than William Blades's *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London, 1861-1863. Though I have from time to time found occasion to disagree with some of the observations made by Blades and noted a few minor inaccuracies, no one is more aware of the enormous labor and great learning which the eminent bibliographer of Caxton has bestowed upon his work than I am. It is not, then, for the sake of offering further criticism of minor points in this book but rather in the hope of supplementing it that I should like to call the reader's attention to a deduction made by Blades which the evidence afforded by the books themselves seems to contradict.

Blades was clearly of the opinion that, as soon as the printed sheets had dried sufficiently, they were placed in the hands of the binders. He states (II, p. xlviii): "[They] went, without further

process, from the press side to the hands of the Binder." As proof for this he adds: "The edition of 'Eneydos,' 1490, was hurried through the Binder's hands so soon after the first section (which, containing the prologue and table, necessarily went to press last) was printed, that all the leaves of that section, in every copy I have seen, show a very bad 'set off' from the type on the opposite pages." Two types of bindings, according to Blades,¹ were employed by Caxton's binder; for the smaller books and those requiring less durable bindings, the binder was supposed to have used vellum wrappers while the larger—or more important—volumes were encased in stamped leather over wooden boards. While E. Gordon Duff² denied that Caxton ever made use of vellum for binding purposes, he also suggested that Caxton "numbered bookbinders amongst his workmen and issued his books ready bound." All genuine Caxton bindings, he maintained, were of stamped brown calf over wooden boards. These suggestions have been generally accepted by students of the earliest English printing.³ However, Duff did not indicate how soon after the completion of the printing the books were bound, and it is with this small point that we are at present concerned.

It must be recognized at the outset, of course, that Caxton's printing practice was probably quite different from that employed on the Continent, at least as it was practised there in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Caxton was far removed from the centers of the new art; his books tell us that his technique remained primitive and show that only reluctantly and slowly did

¹ Op. cit., II, p. lii.

² William Caxton, Chicago, 1905, pp. 84-85. Blades had suggested (II, p. 221) that the Bodleian copy of the second edition of the *Directorium Sacerdotum* was "still in the original parchment wrapper, as issued from Caxton's workshop." As to this, Duff remarks (p. 75): "All evidence goes to prove that Caxton never made use of parchment or vellum as a binding material, and in the case of the present book it is quite clear, on close examination, that it has been made up from two imperfect copies, and that the binding is not earlier than the seventeenth century."

³ Compare, for example, R. B. McKerrow. *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 121-122.

he utilize the improvements which took place on the Continent after his departure from Bruges.⁴ Furthermore, Caxton was concerned only with printing books for local demand; their very contents made them non-exportable. Not a single item in the entire list of books printed at Westminster could have been designed for sale abroad; indeed very few would have been acceptable in the northern counties, let alone Scotland. While we cannot, therefore, base our beliefs as to how and when Caxton bound his books on principles known to have been employed on the other side of the Channel, it may nevertheless be useful to see what, it is generally considered, was the method followed there. As for such methods, we find a wonderful difference of opinion among modern bibliographers; these range from Gruel's assertion⁵ that printers always bound their own books, through Haebler's belief⁶ that some firms probably sold all their books bound, to Goldschmidt's contention⁷ that all printers bound a few of their books for immediate sale or for display purposes but that the greatest number were sold unbound. It seems likely that Goldschmidt's conclusions are correct in regard to the big publishing houses which appeared towards the close of the century; certainly the

⁴ According to Blades (II, p. xlii), it was not until 1480 that Caxton was able to print with lines of an even length although this was common practice abroad long before this. Caxton did not make use of printed signatures till the following year (Blades, II, p. 80) though they appear in books printed in Cologne during the time of his stay there (1471-1472). Title-pages were not used by Caxton, though they do occur in the works of his successor, Wynkyn de Worde.

⁵ Léon Gruel. *Manuel historique et bibliographique de l'amateur de reliures*, Paris, 1887, I, p. 17: "tous les livres, sans exception, aussitôt qu'ils venaient d'être imprimés, étaient reliés par les libraires qui les édictaient."

⁶ Konrad Haebler. *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 179: "Man hat ja annehmen zu müssen geglaubt, dass sogar manche Firmen der Wiegendruckzeit ihre Erzeugnisse in gebundener Form auf den Markt gebracht haben."

⁷ E. Ph. Goldschmidt. *Gothic & Renaissance Bookbindings*, London, 1928, p. 36 ff. He maintains that "in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries books were always sold all over Europe in rough, unfolded sheets, and never otherwise." For the book-sellers' practice at a somewhat later date, see the recent interesting paper by William A. Jackson, *Notes on English "Publishers' Bindings" of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in: *Bookmen's Holiday, Notes and Studies Written in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg*, New York, 1943, pp. 483-488.

business records of the Kobergers⁸ bear him out in some detail. That this was universally true and that the smaller firms generally sold their books unbound (or in sheets), I would hesitate to assert in view of the fact that Goldschmidt's theory is not conceded by many of his colleagues, not even for the Kobergers or Aldus Manutius,⁹ the greatest printers of their day. While it is nevertheless probable that the bigger houses often sold their books in sheets, it is equally certain that some form of "edition" binding was known in the fifteenth century; it is only reasonable to suppose that the smaller printers — having few or no representatives to retail their publications — probably sold their copies bound at the printing office.

If, then, we agree with Duff and others that Caxton habitually sold his books already bound, must we follow Blades in the belief that Caxton had these books bound as soon as the sheets came off the press? With this belief I hardly concur. The proof which Blades brings forward in the case of the *Eneydos* appears very unconvincing. Indeed it seems impossible to conclude that the set-off to which Blades refers could possibly have come about in the manner he suggests. Assuming that the edition consisted of but one hundred copies (the smallest number for which Haebler¹⁰ could discover any evidence) and that the binders immediately proceeded to bind the sheets without waiting for the ink to dry thoroughly, it may be true that the first few copies would show such set-offs but that all of them would do so, as Blades suggests, seems unlikely. By the time the binders (if indeed Caxton had

⁸ The Koberger business correspondence is printed on pp. v-cliv of Oscar Hase's *Die Koberger*, Leipzig, 1885.

⁹ Compare Friedrich Bräuninger. *Verlegereimbände bei Aldus*, in *Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst*, III, pp. 54-60, and Adolph Schmidt. *Verlegereimbände Anton Kobergers zu Nürnberg in der Landesbibliothek zu Darmstadt*, in: *Archiv für Schreib- und Buchwesen*, II, pp. 113-129.

¹⁰ Haebler, op. cit., pp. 142-145. He adds: "So kleine Auflagen wurden aber wohl nur da hergestellt, wo mit dem Druck erst schüchterne Anfänge gemacht wurden, den Unternehmern geschäftliche Erfahrung fehlte oder ein kaufmännisches Interesse überhaupt nicht in Frage kam." None of these reasons is suitable here. Haebler suggests that the usual size of an edition at this time was between 400 and 500 copies.

more than one) had finished their preparatory work on the first dozen or so copies, the ink on the remainder would very probably have been quite dry.¹¹ What the set-off does indicate with any certainty — and it indicates nothing more than this — is that the sheets were folded soon after printing, a simple enough operation and not necessarily a part of the binder's tasks at all. The sheets may have merely been folded in this manner preparatory to storing them.

If we turn to the extant Caxtons themselves, there seems to be ample evidence to prove that the printer did *not* bind all the books of an edition directly it was off the press. A glance either through Blades or Seymour de Ricci's *A Census of Caxtons*, [English] Bibliographical Society, 1909, reveals many important hints; among these, one may note numerous instances where several Caxtons are recorded as having been (or still are) bound together in an "original binding." For example, at the Whitley Beaumont sale (Hodgson's, November 23, 1906, Cat. no. 188) Quaritch obtained for the British Museum a volume that originally contained three Caxtons (the *Royal Book* of c. 1488, the *Doctrinal of Sapience* of May 7, 1489, and the *Book of Good Manners* of May 11, 1487) in the "original leather binding." At a sale at Sotheby's (May 20-21, 1909) there was sold a volume in the original Caxton binding containing books printed by him between March 24, 1479 and August 12, 1481. De Ricci notes (under 74.2) that the Huntington copy of Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* "was in original vellum wrapper after 'Paruus Catho II' " (de Ricci 14.1). In addition one may note that all three of the known copies of *Cato* III (de Ricci 15) were at one time or another bound with other Caxtons while the five Caxtons owned by R. Johnson in

¹¹ It would have taken a binder at least a day to bind a copy in stamped leather over wooden boards, though he might have bound several in vellum wrappers in the same length of time. It is hardly likely, then, that the set-off came about as the result of binding (except possibly in the first few copies bound) but rather as the result of folding the sheets. This, obviously, may or may not have been done by the binder but in itself it does not prove that the copies were bound immediately after printing.

1510 (de Ricci, p. 168) appear to have been purchased in sheets and bound together at that time.¹² There are other examples. This seems to give adequate proof that Caxton did not bind all copies as soon as they were off the press but rather that he stored the sheets, binding them only as requested by the purchaser. The fortunate discovery of a previously unknown Caxton in 1931 gives added weight to this reasoning. In the October issue of *Apollo* of that year, W. Loftus Hare described the newly-found copy of Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, then in the possession of Messrs. William H. Robinson, Ltd. The peculiar interest which this copy holds for us is that signature e belongs not to the *Pilgrimage* (printed June 1483) but to Lydgate's *Life of our Lady* (printed about 1484). It is difficult to believe that this error is due to the eighteenth-century re-binder; it is much more likely that the mistake originally took place in Caxton's workshop where the binder by accident picked up the wrong signature e from the shelves. The books are, of course, very similar, representing two works (in verse) by the same author, printed in types displaying only the minutest differences (Blades 4 and 4*), and produced about the same time. Since these sheets have such a great superficial resemblance, it is not at all surprising to find the binder mistaking the sheets of the one book for the other.¹³

¹² Apparently the purchaser could, if he chose, buy several different works and have Caxton bind them up together. This, of course, reduced the cost of binding considerably. This practice was not confined to Caxton; see my paper, *Notes on a Pynson Volume*, in: *The Library*, December, 1937, pp. 261-267.

¹³ A very similar instance occurs in a volume belonging to the present writer. This is a copy of the Italian translation of the *Vitae et Sententiae Philosophorum* of Diogenes Laertius, printed in Florence by Francesco Bonaccorsi and Antonio di Francesco, July 5, 1488; although bound in a modern vellum binding, my copy is quite large, measuring 217 x 142 mm. compared with the British Museum copy which measures but 201 x 132 mm. In the upper right hand corner (recto) of the first leaf of each quire (except for the first such gathering which of course has its printed indication), a fifteenth-century hand has written "filoxofi." This was obviously intended to identify the unbound quires as belonging to the *Vitae*; when the sheets reached the binder's hands, it was apparently expected that this word would be cut off in the trimming. However, this copy was not cut down sufficiently to eliminate the "filoxofi" entirely, though in one or two instances it has been partially cut into. Although signature f is so marked in my copy, it does *not* belong to the

If further proof be needed that Caxton did not bind the copies at once but kept the sheets unbound until they were required, this is conclusively furnished by other facts which may be gleaned from Caxton's own bindings. In a paper published in *The Library* (*Three Notes on Caxton*, September, 1936, pp. 155-162), the present writer discussed at length the copy of the Boethius found by Blades at the King Edward VI Grammar School at St. Albans. From the covers of the original binding, Blades recovered "56 half-sheets of printed paper" which comprise fragments of books printed by Caxton (according to Blades) between 1477 and 1484. If Blades is correct, the Boethius (printed before 1479) could not have been bound before 1484. If my theory is accepted, namely that the Boethius may have been printed somewhat later (say 1481) and the *Life of our Lady* somewhat earlier (or about 1482), it still follows that the Boethius was not bound immediately upon completion of the printing.¹⁴

If, then, Caxton did not bind his books at once, one may enquire as to whether they were stored as assembled copies or by separate signatures. The *Pilgrimage of the Soul* certainly indicates that the unbound sheets were not stored as copies, for if they were it would be difficult to explain the presence of the quire from the

Vitae but to the Phalaris *Epistolae* (also in Italian) produced by the same printers on May 17, 1488. Thus despite this precaution the same mistake has occurred as in the Robinson copy of the *Pilgrimage*. It also proves that all copies of the *Vitae* and of the *Epistolae* were not bound directly after printing. [It may seem strange to find the Venetian form (with the characteristic "x") for "philosopho" in a Florentine book, but this does not necessarily indicate that the book was first bound in Venice. Bonaccorsi's partner was a Venetian — here he signs his name as Antonius Venetus — and by 1499 he had returned to that city and had set up another press. The British Museum's incunabula catalogue (VI, p. xvii) suggests that Antonio was doubtless the foreman of Bonaccorsi and this may account for the form "filoxofi" in my copy.]

¹⁴ It is noteworthy that Blades himself obtained, some time before 1879, a copy of the Boethius which was then "in the original stamped leather binding" (de Ricci 8. 29). In the covers of this volume were found several leaves of the "so-called" second edition of the *Life of our Lady* (de Ricci 72). Thus at least two copies of this edition of Boethius are known which were not bound as soon as possible after printing. [Concerning these leaves see my papers *Three Notes &c.* (pp. 163-166) and *Two Caxton Problems*, in: *The Library*, December, 1939, pp. 268-271.]

Life of our Lady in the Robinson copy of the *Pilgrimage*. If the sheets for each signature were kept together, were they stored flat or folded? Here the evidence is not quite clear. Blades's discussion of the *Eneydos* tends to show, as we have seen, that the sheets were folded as soon as possible, indeed in this particular case too soon. Caxton's *Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye* seems to confirm this.¹⁵ In this case the blank verso of folio 2 in most copies shows a set-off from folio 1 recto, which could only have resulted from the *folded* sheets having been stacked together when the ink was still wet. One should note that if the sheets had been piled up flat and not folded, the set-off of folio 1 recto would have appeared on 1 verso (that is, on the inner — not outer — forme; it is impossible to conclude that the wet sheets were invariably laid face to face and always with the printed surface opposite the blank page).¹⁶ On the other hand, the copy of the *Cordiale* in the Pierpont Morgan Library may offer contradictory evidence. Here the inner forme of the third sheet of the fourth quire (27 verso-30 recto) shows a set-off from the outer (27 recto-30 verso). This certainly indicates that the sheets were at one time stacked flat but this may only have been a temporary condition prior to folding the sheets.

Contrary to what Blades suggests, we may thus safely deduce that Caxton did not send the sheets to the binders as soon as the book was off the press. As Goldschmidt has contended for the Continental presses, it seems certain that Caxton, following the usual fifteenth-century practice, had a few copies bound for immediate sale or for display and that the remaining sheets were stored until such a time as they were needed.

¹⁵ For further notes, see my paper *Caxton Studies*, in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1940, pp. 169-176.

¹⁶ Only in these two ways could the set-off of folio 1 recto appear on 2 verso, but the likelihood that it took place in the second manner described is so remote that it may safely be assumed that the set-offs are not the results of such happenings.

Longfellow's Income from his Writings, 1840-1852*

By WILLIAM CHARVAT

I PRESENT in this report a few of the results of a study of manuscript materials in the Craigie House in Cambridge of which almost no use has been made heretofore. The materials consist of (1) An Account Book in which Longfellow listed, among other things, his receipts from writing and teaching for the years 1840-1852. Details herein include usually the title, price, and place of publication of each poem he was paid for; payments for each printing of books; his salary from Harvard; and, after 1843, his wife's income. (2) A list of editions of each of his works to 1864, indicating the date and the number of copies of each printing. (3) A number of contracts, copyright documents, and bills for stereotyping; and lists of the number and value of stereotype plates acquired between 1845 and 1852. (4) Letters from publishers and editors to Longfellow.

When it is carefully integrated this information offers a fairly complete story of the business aspects of Longfellow's literary career in America¹ for the period stated. I have reconstructed that story partly in the belief that it adds significantly to our knowl-

* The author wishes to thank Mr. H. W. L. Dana for generous assistance in the preparation of this paper.

¹ Longfellow's publishing arrangements in England have been investigated by Clarence Gohdes. See his *Longfellow and His Authorized British Publishers*, in: *PMLA*, Vol. LV, December, 1940, pp. 1165-1179. My materials reveal receipts of \$25 in 1841 from Richard Bentley for contributions to Bentley's *Miscellany*; \$100 in September, 1850, for an English illustrated edition of *Evangeline* (500 copies); \$480.10 on December 13, 1851, for a London edition of the *Golden Legend*; and \$200 on December 15, 1851, for a London edition of *Poems*, illustrated.

edge and understanding of a poet whose reputation has suffered not because we know too much about him but too little. The traditional portrait, almost unmodified until recent years, lacks humanizing nuance and three-dimensional solidity. But I am still more interested in the facts for the evidence they give of Longfellow's importance in the history of professional authorship. It is no small matter that he was the first American writer to make a living from poetry — that by shrewd, aggressive, and intelligent management of the business of writing, he raised the commercial value of verse and thereby helped other American poets to get out of the garret.

The period covered by the Account Book begins the month after the publication of *Voices of the Night*; it ends a year after the appearance of *The Golden Legend* and two years before Longfellow resigned from Harvard. It is the period of the *Ballads*, *Poems on Slavery*, *The Spanish Student*, *The Belfry of Bruges*, *Evangeline*, *Kavanaugh*, and *The Seaside and the Fireside*; of three anthologies; and of three collected editions. It represents, therefore, the era of Longfellow's life when he established his reputation and popularity as a poet; and inasmuch as he published fourteen books in these thirteen years, it was also one of his most productive periods. Any one who tries to write while he carries a full-time job can appreciate what has never been fully recognized — that the gentle Longfellow was a phenomenally industrious worker. Fortunately, we need not break the story off short at 1852, for Longfellow's list of editions enables us to construct the publishing history of these books to the year 1864, by which time, apparently, most of his old separate publications in their original form had been taken off the market.² It is thus possible to determine the total sale of many of his works during their whole existence, and to offer comparative statistics concerning them.

² W. D. Ticknor's death in 1864, and the appearance of a variety of collected editions in the next few years, suggests a complete rearrangement of Longfellow's contracts by James T. Fields, the surviving partner, at about this time.

Two warnings concerning the interpretation of these facts are in order. The first is that one must not assume that Longfellow's accounts are entirely correct or complete. One's private book-keeping rarely is. I have discovered a few minor omissions, and one amusing error: in the year 1849 there is a mistake of \$1,000 in Longfellow's addition of his receipts — \$1,000 too little, — which shows that he was getting on pretty well in 1849. Moreover, the year-by-year accounts are slightly misleading because they record income only, not outgo. There is no indication of the important fact that up to 1852 Longfellow paid out about \$2,600 for stereotype plates, an expenditure which, as I shall show, added greatly to his prosperity.

My second warning concerns the muddy problem of comparative cost of living. Let us assume, unscientifically, like most economists, that money in the 1840's had three times the buying power it had in the 1930's. On that scale, Longfellow's income of \$2,019 for 1840 was equal to \$6,000 to-day, and better than that of a Congressman in 1840, who earned \$8.00 a day when he worked. By this standard Longfellow's rate of \$15 or \$20 a poem in 1840-1841 was not so poor as it sounds. It would have been poor enough had he been forced to grind out poems at this rate to pay his rent. But, as we shall see, Longfellow never let himself be blown about by book trade winds. Once he began to take himself seriously as a poet with an audience, he became a first-rate sailor.

The total bulk of a poet's work is usually small, compared to that of the prose writer, and the problem of the poet who wants to make a living is how to sell the same poem as many times as possible. Ordinarily, in the nineteenth century, his resources in this respect were three: (1) single publication in a newspaper, magazine, or annual; (2) collection in a small volume; (3) re-assembly of small volumes in a "collected" edition. Longfellow learned exactly how to use each of these methods; in fact, it is

doubtful whether any other poet of the century was so resourceful in bringing his work before the public in so many forms and on so many price levels.

Concerning the first of these, a glance at the facts shows that Longfellow did not remain one of the miserable brotherhood of "magazinists" very long. Though contributions to magazines brought in almost half his literary income from 1840 to 1844, they counted for less than ten per cent of his total literary income for the whole period. During the thirteen years he averaged only three paid contributions a year.

The accounts illustrate graphically the sudden and startling rise in magazine rates for authors in 1842, for though in 1840-1841 poems brought him \$15 or \$20, in two years he moved permanently into the \$50 level. This increase in the pay scale has rightly been attributed chiefly to George Graham; but the correspondence shows that Longfellow helped to bring this scale into effect by putting pressure on the publisher.³ The most interesting fact about the situation is that Graham paid these high prices only for a monopoly of an author's work, and that this was his way of protecting himself against the unethical Mr. Godey.⁴ From 1843 to 1848 Longfellow's paid contributions appeared in *Graham's* only;⁵ and it is likely that he was one of the first American authors to try this early form of the modern contract for exclusive rights to an author's name.

³ On December 23, 1841, Graham offered Longfellow \$30 a poem. On January 20, 1842, he wrote, "When I mentioned \$30 I intended it on poems only, and as I have purchased at \$20, I thought I was liberal." (Letters in the Craigie House.)

⁴ Graham to Longfellow, May 24, 1844. "I find it is time for me to protect my own interests. I have been paying high prices, and have fixed these prices permanently — for the articles of our best writers, and have agreed to take them *regularly* — not *once or twice* a year. Mr. Godey gets an article from some writer who has been sustained by me, and makes constant use of his name among his contributors. I shall stop that. He must have his set and I will have mine. And when I am deserted I shall cut the name from my list. This rule I shall apply to all, whose articles I *bind myself* to take regularly. I must have the obligation as strong on the other side." (Craigie House.)

⁵ This statement does not apply to annuals and gift-books, which were not in competition with magazines. The Account Book shows that these also paid \$50, and that Longfellow contributed to them fairly regularly.

Inasmuch as Longfellow never gave even Graham as many contributions as the latter was willing to pay for, it is apparent that he realized that book publication was, or could be made, more lucrative than magazine work, and that to be salable a volume of poems must be made up partly of previously unprinted pieces. Concerning this second form of publication, it should be stated at once that Longfellow did not merely follow established techniques; he helped to create new ones. In the 1830's he had tried the old unsatisfactory plans of flat payment for copyright, and sharing profits with the publisher; and it was on this latter plan that he was obliged to begin his relations with John Owen when he published *Voices of the Night* in 1839. For Owen's first five printings of *Voices* and first four printings of the *Ballads*, Longfellow's half share of the profits was six or seven cents a copy, or an average of eight per cent on a retail price of seventy-five cents. But as soon as these books had proved successful, he somehow persuaded his publisher to revise the contracts,⁶ so that beginning in 1842 and 1843 he received for *Voices* and the *Ballads* ten cents a copy — which was a royalty of thirteen and one-third per cent — a high rate for poetry in those days — and these. He made the same arrangement for *The Spanish Student* in 1843 and *The Waif* in 1844.

On June 18, 1845, he took an important step: he bought from Owen the plates of his five books, crediting himself in the Account Book with \$400 for royalties due, with the explanation, "Received payment in stereotype plates."⁷ In 1845 and 1846 he

⁶ The revised contract for *Voices*, dated February 8, 1842, is at the Craigie House; for the *Ballads*, same date, at the Morgan Library. The Accounts show that the latter did not go into effect until 1843.

⁷ The details of this transaction are not entirely clear. The full entry in the Account Book is as follows:

Voices XI	500	} Received payment in stereotype plates	\$400.
Ballads IX	500		
Spanish Student			
Poems on Slavery			
Waif IV	500		

It is confirmed by a receipt (at the Craigie House) dated June 18, 1845, and signed

ordered stereotypes of his old prose works, *Outre-Mer* and *Hyperion*. From then until at least 1865, Longfellow paid for and owned the plates of all of his books (except *Poets and Poetry of Europe* and the Philadelphia illustrated edition), and sold to publishers the right to print from them. Let us see what effect this had on his rate of profit.

From Owen he had received, when the publisher owned the plates, first eight per cent, then thirteen and one-third per cent. After 1845, when he owned his own plates, he received on eight books on which the facts can be clearly determined, gross rates of from twenty per cent to twenty-seven and one half per cent — an average of twenty-three and one-half per cent — on the retail price. But of course his real royalty depended upon two factors — the cost of the plates of a book, and the volume of its sale. Thus, for example, the *Estray* of 1846 yielded him a gross royalty of twenty-six and two-thirds per cent; but as the plates cost him almost \$100 and only 1000 copies were printed, his real royalty was only thirteen and one-third per cent. Now, the plates of *Evangeline* also cost \$100; but as the book had a sale of 13,425 in seventeen years, his gross royalty of twenty-six and two-thirds per cent (twenty cents a copy) was a real royalty of twenty-five and six-tenths per cent. His net average royalty for all eight books was eighteen and one-quarter per cent.

by Owen, for \$400 in payment for the plates of the five works. But at the Yale Library there is an authorization, signed by Longfellow on the same date, for Owen to print from Longfellow's plates of *Voices*, *Ballads*, *The Spanish Student*, and *The Waif*, all in 16mo format, to the number of 2,667 copies. At fifteen cents a copy, this comes to almost exactly \$400. Since the authorization does not include *Poems on Slavery*, these printings were to be made from only four of the works. Yet Longfellow does not record any further printings by Owen beyond those specifically mentioned in the Account Book (*Voices* XI, *Ballads* IX, and *Waif* IV), a total of only 1500. It is possible that Owen's bankruptcy in 1846 (documents in the Registry of Deeds, Middlesex County, show that his property was assigned January 12, 1847, as of December 23, 1846) prevented his reimbursing himself in full for the plates. But the publication by Ticknor of an edition of *The Waif* in November, 1846 (for which he paid Longfellow) leaves that explanation open to question.

The moral, of course, is that if a mid-nineteenth century author of some reputation had a little capital and the sense to invest it in stereotype plates, he could get eighteen and one-quarter per cent rather than the traditional ten. Moreover, as Prescott, who also used this system, pointed out, it provided perfect insurance against the vagaries of publishers' bookkeeping. Longfellow could not be cheated. When Ticknor needed more books, he had to ask Longfellow to send an order to Metcalf to print so many copies, and payment for these became due when the volumes were printed, not when they were sold. There were variations on this method, of course, most of them inferior. Longfellow's first arrangement with Harpers for the cheap edition called for the delivery of the completed book, manufactured at Longfellow's cost, the publisher taking a commission for sales. This was Emerson's system for many years. Longfellow wisely avoided it, perhaps because it would have deprived his publisher of incentive. His own method not only brought him author's pay, but made him a publisher's partner who shared in some of the profits of book manufacture. It is worth noting that, from the business point of view, his two most troublesome books were the *Poets and Poetry of Europe* and the illustrated edition, both published by Carey and Hart in Philadelphia in 1845. The publishers owned the plates of these, and he and they quarrelled frequently over control and management of copyright. Finally, not the least of the advantages of his method was that he could choose his own printer and thus control more effectively the typography of his books.

The sales record of the eight volumes of original verse produced in this period is interesting if not surprising. From smallest to largest, their sales, or rather, their printings, to 1864 were as follows:

<i>Poems on Slavery</i>	1,750
(not including the Anti-Slavery Association reprint)	
<i>The Spanish Student</i>	1,850
<i>The Belfry of Bruges</i>	2,050

<i>Ballads</i>	2,940
<i>The Seaside and the Fireside</i>	5,000
<i>Voices of the Night</i> (not including Redding's pamphlet edition) ⁸	7,000
<i>The Golden Legend</i>	8,968
<i>Evangeline</i>	14,425
(this is only one-third the sale of <i>Hiawatha</i>)	

If Longfellow's records of receipts and printings are not misleading, one can generalize to the effect that long narratives, like *Evangeline*, or connected short narratives, like *The Golden Legend*, had a longer life as individual volumes than the other works. Excepting *The Seaside*, which was absorbed into the collected edition after one printing, not one of the first six volumes listed above was reprinted or brought Longfellow any royalties after 1848. It is true that a Ticknor advertisement lists all of them (except *Poems on Slavery*) for sale as of October, 1856, but it is likely that Ticknor, who apparently bought Owen's stock when the latter failed late in 1846, was, in 1856, trying to get rid of all of his separate Longfellow titles before he published his "Blue and Gold" collected editions.

One of these volumes deserves a digressive paragraph. Ordinarily *Poems on Slavery* is dismissed with the slighting comment that Longfellow left it out of the Philadelphia edition of 1845. In the Account Book there is only one entry for this work: "Poems on Slavery, 00.00." I interpret this to mean that Longfellow refused to profit by a work which he intended to be his contribution to a cause; and the integrity of his motive is further vindicated by the fact that he permitted the New England Anti-Slavery Tract Association to reprint it, without compensation to him,⁹ in a region where its distribution could do the most damage

⁸ Published in Boston, 1845. A statement by Longfellow, dated July 7, 1846, in a notebook marked "Gleanings" (Craigie House) indicates that between 1,000 and 2,000 of this edition were printed.

⁹ In the foreword of one of these pamphlets there is an acknowledgement of "the magnanimous generosity with which the distinguished author has contributed [the slavery poems] to our series."

to his reputation. Longfellow could be quietly stubborn about his convictions as his unprinted letters concerning these poems show.

The figures for the three prose works, to 1864, are as follows:

<i>Outre-Mer</i>	6,060
<i>Kavanagh</i>	8,620
<i>Hyperion</i>	14,450

The surprising fact here is that the total printings of the prose works was eighty-five per cent of that of the seven separate volumes of original verse published in the same period (that is, up to 1849, the date of *Kavanagh*). Comparing the best-sellers of the two groups, *Hyperion's* 14,450 is greater than *Evangeline's* 14,425. Even more interesting, Longfellow's gross receipts for the prose exceeded that for the verse group — \$5,427 to \$5,350.¹⁰ Obviously, Longfellow was better known as a prose writer in his time than one would suppose.

The third form of publication — the collected edition — was, of course, the most important financially. Longfellow's first three collections — the illustrated edition of 1845, the cheap edition of 1846, and the Ticknor and Fields two-volume edition of 1850 — brought him almost double the returns of the individual volumes which they embraced, even though the sales of the collected editions were somewhat smaller. Experience early showed Longfellow that the technique of this form was worth watching. On the one hand, several levels of market could be reached by variations of price; on the other hand, each collection could be strategically outmoded through the publication of new separate volumes of verse and the inclusion of these in new collected editions. Longfellow's first venture, the de luxe illustrated edition at \$3.50, was brought out on the initiative of the publishers, Carey and

¹⁰ These figures cover sums actually paid to Longfellow. Colman, the bankrupt publisher of the first edition of *Hyperion*, seems to have paid only \$272 out of a total of \$500 due. See *Longfellow's Letters to Samuel Ward* in: *Putnam's Monthly*, Vol. III, December, 1907, p. 304.

Hart; but the fifty-cent, paper-covered, Harper collection of 1846 was Longfellow's idea. Carey and Hart unreasonably tried to block this edition, and gave up only after they turned the question over to Little and Brown for arbitration. In a way, the cheap edition was like a neat recovery of a fumble. In 1845, feeling that it was time to tap the cheaper market for *Voices of the Night*, Longfellow brought out a twelve and one-half cent, double-columned, paper-covered edition through Redding of Boston. Inasmuch as the plates for this cost him \$72 and he received only \$60, he was a loser. But not for long. After selling the idea of a cheap collected edition to Harpers, Longfellow thriftily built the plates of the Harper edition around those of the cheap edition of *Voices*. Early in 1849 he freshened up the collection commercially by adding to it new double-column plates of *Evangeline*, raising the retail price from fifty to sixty-two cents. The whole operation cost him about \$340 for plates, but his net royalty for total Harper sales of 6,000 averaged sixteen per cent.

He could not, of course, continue very long to expand the cheap edition by these methods. Harpers had even hesitated to accept his proposal to add *Evangeline* to their edition on the ground that if they increased the price to seventy-five cents, as Longfellow apparently had suggested, they would drive his buyers into the bound book market.¹¹ After the publication of *The Seaside and the Fireside*, Longfellow decided to bring out his first regular trade edition—the two-dollar, two-volume collection of 1850; but since by this date it was generally agreed that Boston was the best market for poetry, Ticknor, Reed, and Fields got the contract. The plates of this edition cost him \$625; but with sales of almost 20,000 by 1864, his net royalty was a fat eighteen and one-half per cent. This edition was, in turn, out-dated and surpassed in sales by the Blue and Gold edition of 1856, which, at \$1.75, had a sale of 40,000 by 1864.

¹¹ Harper Brothers to Longfellow, November 28, 1848 (Craigie House).

Considering the question of royalty percentages in general, it might be assumed that as Longfellow's work grew in popularity, his revenues increased in proportion. Not so. Longfellow reached his peak in royalty rates in 1846-1849, when Ticknor paid him, for *Evangeline*, *The Seaside and the Fireside*, and for editions of some of the older volumes which he had taken over from Owen, a gross rate of twenty-six and two-thirds per cent. In the case of *Evangeline*, as I have said, this meant a net of twenty-five and six-tenths per cent — perhaps an all-time high for any poet.

Then gross rates began to slip — as follows:

1849	<i>Kavanagh</i>	twenty per cent
1851	<i>Golden Legend</i>	twenty per cent
1855	<i>Hiawatha</i>	fifteen per cent
1856	"Blue and Gold" <i>Poems</i>	ten per cent

By 1871, ten per cent, net, was his regular royalty.

I have only guesses to offer for this phenomenon. One is that Longfellow's greatest relative prosperity came between the two great depressions of 1837 and 1857. Following the pattern of business history in general, publishing went through a great expansive period in the late 'forties and early 'fifties, and when the boom began to wane, publishing, always the first to suffer, had to contract. Ticknor and Fields did so in time; Phillips, Sampson & Company (for example) — publishers of Emerson, Prescott, Holmes, and the *Atlantic Monthly* — did not. They collapsed in 1859, letting their mantle fall on their more wary rivals, Ticknor and Fields. I think it may be possible to show eventually that America's great literary activity in the 'fifties was directly related to this economic situation.

Returning now to the Account Book for a final glance, I should like to explore a natural but unwarranted assumption concerning Longfellow. Everyone knows that he married the daughter of a great industrialist in 1843; it is less generally known that he had no private invested funds. He worked for every cent he got; in-

deed, in later years, he paid to the rest of the family what he had borrowed from his father when he was young. Now, those familiar with the most elementary facts concerning Longfellow know that he did not lie back among pillows and mint-juleps after he married the "heiress." They may even know that he continued to work hard at his two professions for eleven years thereafter. But more particular facts may be welcome even to the initiated. In the four years before his marriage, 1840-1843, Longfellow's average yearly income, all of it derived from teaching and writing, was \$1,917. In the nine years following his marriage, his yearly average was \$3,536. The literary record is even more interesting, especially when one remembers the remark by Henry James's writer in *The Lesson of the Master*, that marriage and children are an "incentive to damnation, artistically speaking." Longfellow's damnation was spectacular in that it skyrocketed his income from writings alone from \$335 in 1843 to \$2,860 in 1845; and his average, from writings alone, from that year to 1852 was almost \$2,000. To clinch the subject, let it be known that during the first ten years of marriage, only once was his wife's income larger than his; and that in three of those years his income from writings alone was larger than hers from investments.

One may draw one's own conclusions from these facts and figures. I think it would be hard to deny that Longfellow helped to make the literary profession respectable by making it profitable, as had long been the case in England. It was harder, after his example, for fathers like his own to discourage their sons from entering the literary profession because it was not self-supporting. It would be unfair, I think, to attribute his financial success wholly to the almost universal readability of his work. That success was not handed to him on a silver platter: he worked hard for it and he used his head to solve his professional problems. One gets the impression, as one goes through the records and correspondence, that Longfellow took an extraordinarily active part

in the publication of his own works¹² at a time when commercial publishing in this country was not yet fully developed, and that he helped explore the potentialities of new reader markets. His success suggests that the lack of international copyright was not necessarily an insuperable obstacle to the development of American literature.

¹² Scattered documents and letters at the Craigie House show that Longfellow kept himself informed on the manufacturing costs of his various works.

Samuel Butler's Revisions of *Erewhon*

By LEE ELBERT HOLT

THREE months after the publication of *Erewhon* in March, 1872, a new edition containing "a few unimportant alterations and additions"¹ appeared. "A few further trifling alterations"² were made before molds were taken, but then the work was untouched until 1901 when, in conjunction with the publication of *Erewhon Revisited*, Butler prepared a careful revision. This, he explains in his preface, was done both to secure the copyright by the addition of new material, and also to remove literary inelegancies of which he was ashamed. He had hopes, too, of adding some new life to the book; these hopes he expressed negatively, in his customary half-humorous fashion, writing that he wanted "to make such substantial additions as should secure a new lease of life — at any rate for the copyright."³

In spite of Butler's own statement that the 1901 edition of *Erewhon* contains "about sixty" new pages,⁴ most readers have not realized the extent of the 1901 revision, but have assumed that what they have before them is substantially the book that achieved fame in 1872. The general implication of Butler's preface is that the 1901 *Erewhon*, except for additions and small corrections, is not much altered from the *Erewhon* of 1872. If we turn to But-

¹ Samuel Butler's "Preface to the Revised Edition," *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, London, Jonathan Cape, 1923, p. xvii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xvii. By my count there are 58 new pages.

ler's biographer Henry Festing Jones to see what the development of *Erewhon* was, we find very little said about specific changes.⁵ No careful analysis seems ever to have been made of the book's various editions.⁶

Why did Butler give the impression that the *Erewhon* of 1901 was substantially the *Erewhon* of 1872? Probably because he did not want to harm his satire's popularity by announcing that it had been much altered. In 1901 his literary reputation was at a low ebb; it was therefore best for him to pretend that the reissued work was almost the same as the popular edition of 1872. At the same time, having improved in literary ability and being full of new and striking ideas, he was unable to leave *Erewhon* in its original state, and he therefore did all he could to make it better without indicating how much he had changed it. This has led to confusion in the minds of Butler's readers; they have wondered how so many theories worked out in his later books could have appeared so clearly and so well expressed in one of his earliest, and they have not seen the obvious explanation of its unevenness of style and interest.

All of this confusion is a mistake. The "literary inelegancies" of which Butler "found many more" than he "had expected"⁷ alone manage to change the tone of many passages; and the frequent addition of new material and the change in emphasis in the

⁵ *Samuel Butler, a Memoir*, London, Macmillan, 1920. Jones tells about the introduction of the "disgrazia" incident and the Italian quotation, "Poor unfortunate fellow, he has murdered his uncle" in Chapter X on "Current Opinions" (I, p. 26); and about the restoration in the 1901 edition of an episode based on Butler's own relations with his father in "Some Erewhonian Trials" which Pauli had persuaded him to omit from the book (I, pp. 167-168).

⁶ The editions studied for this paper were from the Butler collection in the Chapin Library at Williams College. They were the first edition, London, Trübner & Co., 1872; the second edition, London, Trübner & Co., 1872; the third edition, London, Trübner & Co., 1872; the fourth edition, London, Trübner & Co., 1872; the fifth edition, London, Trübner & Co., 1873; the sixth edition, London, David Bogue, 1880; the seventh edition, London, Trübner & Co., 1888; the eighth edition, London, Longmans Green and Co., 1890; and the revised edition of 1901 in the Shrewsbury text.

⁷ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. xvii.

presentation of old go far toward altering the entire book. Butler can be accused of understatement when he implied that the 1901 *Erewhon* was not much altered from the *Erewhon* of 1872.

As one might expect from the convincing forcefulness of the book's first few chapters, however, they have been little changed. Butler liked best those parts of *Erewhon* which he had revised the most,⁸ but his readers have generally enjoyed the beginning which describes the hero's departure from his sheep ranch and his journey over a mountain range into unexplored country under the guidance of an untrustworthy Indian, more than later chapters, proving by their preference the truth of the principle which he himself so often defended, that spontaneity is the life of art.⁹ The title of the second chapter was simplified in 1901 from "Down in the Wool-Shed" to "In the Wool Shed."¹⁰ Beginning with the end of Chapter II and throughout the rest of the book every mention of the time of year is changed by six months in the 1901 edition;¹¹ this is done to add confusion regarding the geographic location of Erewhon, and to make the hero's escape by balloon occur in the spring, a safer season than fall. A slight revision in Chapter IV, also made in 1901, adds realism to the hero's departure alone when Chowbok, his Indian guide, deserts him: in the early editions he rolled Chowbok's blankets around his own, making a bundle ten inches in diameter, but this awkward size is reduced to six inches by omitting the Indian's blankets. Inside the bundle, however, is added "a flask nearly full of brandy, which I had kept in my pocket for fear lest Chowbok should get hold of it."¹²

In the second paragraph of Chapter VI Butler had exposed the fact that his hero, who frequently proclaimed his piety and did all he could to convert Chowbok to Christianity, is actually

⁸ Ibid., p. xvii.

⁹ See frequent statements to this effect in *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*.

¹⁰ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. 7.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 11.

¹² Ibid., p. 19.

very ignorant of the Bible, by letting him exclaim on first looking down into Erewhon: "It was such an expanse as was revealed to Moses when he stood upon the summit of Mount Pisgah and beheld that promised land which it was not to be his to enter."¹³ This must have struck Butler as too obvious an error even for Mr. Higgs, and in all editions but the first he gives the mountain its proper name.

As the hero, having been taken captive by the natives of the new country into which he had entered, is led down the mountainside at the beginning of Chapter VII, he passes many wayside shrines in which are statues "of great beauty, representing some figure, male or female, in the very heyday of youth, strength, and beauty or of the most dignified maturity and old age, but with no pretense to anything of a devotional character."¹⁴ Revising this sentence in 1901 Butler omitted the statement that the statues had "no pretense to anything of a devotional character"; he had by then become convinced that beauty and health are the most perfect signs of devotion to God.¹⁵ This chapter VII gives evidence of changing styles in paragraphing. Originally it had contained seven paragraphs but in the revision it contains thirteen. A corresponding shortening of paragraphs takes place throughout the book.

When the hero rhapsodizes in the same chapter over the physical beauty of the Erewhonians, to whom sickness and deformity are as obnoxious as moral deformity is to us, he compares them to figures from definite schools of painting, reflecting Butler's own preoccupation with art when he wrote *Erewhon*. The specific references are made more general in 1901 to bring them into better agreement with the character of the hero. "Their color was equal to that of the finest Venetian or Bolognese paintings" becomes "finest Italian paintings." "I felt simply abashed in the presence

¹³ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁵ *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. 26, and other places.

of such a splendid type — a compound of all that is best in Egyptian, Greek and Italian but, perhaps, more like Giorgione at his ripest than anything else” is simplified by the omission of the reference to Giorgione.¹⁶

In Chapter VIII the description of Yram, the beautiful daughter of the jail-keeper under whose guard the hero is placed, is revised in view of her important part in *Erewhon Revisited*; from being “of about the middle height” she becomes “rather above the middle height” and her eyes which had been “fringed with the most delicious eyelashes” now have “long and springing eyelashes.”¹⁷ Butler’s mature awareness of the hypocrisy of most men crops up in a small revision a little further on. In place of his hero’s saying “I am not a *great* hypocrite” in describing how he feigned sickness to win Yram’s affection, he says “I am not a much greater hypocrite than other people.”¹⁸ The humor of the hero’s singing songs to Yram which made her eyes swim with tears is heightened in the 1901 revision by changing the songs from Italian ones (the hero had a very imperfect knowledge of Italian anyway; see Chapter XXIX) to English: “Lascia ch’io Pianga” becomes “Wilkins and his Dinah,” “Verdi Prati”¹⁹ becomes “Billy Taylor” and “Oh Placido il mare” or “Se non ho l’idol mio” become “The Ratcatcher’s Daughter.”²⁰

In Chapter IX when the hero is released from captivity and is invited to go to the metropolis to stay with Mr. Nosnibor, a wealthy embezzler, he rebels at the thought of having associations with a criminal. Butler wrote in the first edition: “As I heard these words my heart sank within me. I felt the extreme difficulty of my position, and how unwise it would be for me to run counter to prevailing prejudices, however revolting they might be to

¹⁶ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁹ This is the title which Butler wanted to give to his book *Alps and Sanctuaries*.

²⁰ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. 55.

me." In the second and all later editions this passage is made more emphatically expressive of Butler's peculiar philosophy of good and evil: he felt that flying in the face of established usage was the very essence of sinfulness, so the passage is revised to read "I felt the extreme difficulty of my position, and how wicked I should be in running counter to established usage."²¹

These and other changes in the first chapters which I have passed over are small changes, the kind any author would make on revising an imperfect early work. The really striking alterations commence in Chapter X, "Current Opinions." The second, third, fourth and half of the fifth paragraphs were added in 1901.²² Butler had at first jumped straight from describing the Erewhonian view of crime to describing the work of the straighteners who correspond to medical doctors in European society but have moral ailments rather than physical as their subject; in the revised *Erewhon* he pauses to make Erewhonian criminology seem more plausible to his readers by pointing out that many living people feel as the Erewhonians do. We too speak of an infection as "peccant" or "bad"; the Mohammedans send their female prisoners to hospitals; and some savage tribes punish misfortune by destroying all a man's goods. Butler recounts two anecdotes from his own experience showing that in Italy crime is sometimes considered merely a misfortune. Had he known the book, he might also have referred to the Aran Islanders' attitude toward crime as described in Synge's *The Aran Islands*.²³

Another addition to the chapter is the ninth and tenth paragraphs describing how the Erewhonians sometimes disguise sickness by pretending to have committed misdemeanors. To confess

²¹ Ibid., p. 60.

²² Ibid., pp. 70-72.

²³ Boston, 1911, p. 97. "... a man will not do wrong unless he is under the influence of a passion which is as irresponsible as a storm on the sea. If a man has killed his father, and is already sick and broken with remorse, they can see no reason why he should be dragged away and killed by the law. Such a man, they say, will be quiet all the rest of his life, and if you suggest that punishment is needed as an example, they ask, "Would anyone kill his father if he was able to help it?"

to having stolen a pair of socks is a recognized way of saying that one is indisposed. This idea too is illustrated by a new anecdote.²⁴ Again, the account of Mr. Nosnibor's embezzlement of money from a poor widow is altered by the additional explanation that none of the money was returned to her, and that she only escaped punishment for "Misplaced Confidence" by dying soon after she had been cheated.²⁵ The final three paragraphs in the chapter describing the training of the straighteners are also new material.²⁶ Butler could hardly have been so confident in his setting down of vice for virtue in his younger days as at the end of his life. The theme of *The Way of All Flesh* is adumbrated in the following: "It stands to reason that he who would cure a moral ailment must be practically acquainted with it in all its bearings."²⁷ This was what Ernest Pontifex discovered in his preparation for life. That "Unalloyed virtue is not a thing to be immoderately indulged in" and that "the real or supposed virtues of parents are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation"²⁸ are two sentences with a *Note-Book* ring. This new ending gives the chapter greater force and effectiveness than it had before.

The entire first part of Chapter XI is new.²⁹ The account of the trial of a man for having had the misfortune of losing his wife whom he loved dearly, and of a youth for having allowed his guardian to cheat him develop Butler's idea that people are to blame for their misfortunes. The judge's little speech to the effect that "luck is the only fit object of human veneration"³⁰ recalls the doctrine of *Life and Habit* and *Luck or Cunning?* The theme is developed further in another long addition to the next chapter, "Malcontents," which was made in the second edition in

²⁴ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. 74.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

1872.³¹ The hero is thinking back over the trials and comes to the tentative conclusion that they were quite just. This is reinforced in the early revision by the statement that we have no alternative and must punish people for misfortunes and reward them for good luck. According to Jones, Butler had written in the margin of a presentation copy of *Erewhon* the words "meant seriously" beside the paragraphs setting forth these ideas — paragraphs three and four in Chapter XII.³²

Chapter XIII, "The Views of the Erewhonians Concerning Death," is a new chapter, an expansion of ideas contained in two paragraphs placed originally at the close of Chapter XII. By 1901 Butler, being then sixty-six, was more interested in the subject of death than he could have been at thirty-seven, and the new chapter is a natural outgrowth of many of the ideas on this subject set forth in the *Note-Books*. The first sentence and a half of this chapter are from the end of the old Chapter XII, but the statement that the Erewhonians "insist that the greater number of those who are commonly said to die, have never yet been born" is new.³³ All that follows was added in 1901 until the fourth paragraph where, instead of writing as in 1872 that "they bury their dead in quick-lime," Butler tells us that "they burn their dead" and then goes on to use the words of the early *Erewhon* to describe the rest of the funeral procedure.³⁴ The opening part of the account of Erewhonian practice concerning memorials is also left unaltered up to the point where, in the first edition, Butler had expressed his approval of these statues. "The result is delightful. Health and beauty and strength are being thus continually chronicled; and the public think, rightly or wrongly, that this keeps up the standard of all these good things, making those feel ashamed of themselves who do not possess them."

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

³² *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 424-425.

³³ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. 97.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

This approval is dropped out in 1901 and instead we are given a several-page account of the rise and fall of the art of statue-making which is really intended to set forth a theory of the growth and decline of all human art.³⁵ It closely parallels the discussion of Academies in *Alps and Sanctuaries*.³⁶ This new passage is an example of Butler's much increased power of telling in a simple, brief manner a story which has many overtones and meanings not directly expressed. It, like the entire chapter on "The Rights of Vegetables" which was also added in 1901, says much more than it purports to say. The chapter's concluding discussion of illness and childbirth is in all editions but the first.³⁷ Most of the paragraph about artificial tears, however (third from end), is taken from the first edition.³⁸ This material constituted the conclusion of the old Chapter XII.

The chapter entitled "Mahaina" is left unaltered except that a weak concluding remark to the effect that the hero could never understand the unkind tone of reproach adopted by all Erewhonians toward sufferers from illness is omitted in the 1901 revision.³⁹ Revisions in the chapter on "The Musical Banks" are for the sake of clarity and vividness and also underline Butler's emphatic dislike of religious hypocrisy. A sentence explaining how people treated musical bank money which went as follows: "I think they took the money, put it into the bank, and then drew it out again, repeating the process day by day, and keeping a certain amount of currency for this purpose and no other, while they paid the expenses of the bank with the other coinage" becomes (middle of paragraph four) "the amount so kept had no direct commercial value in the outside world."⁴⁰ When the hero, who has gone to "church" with his host's wife and her two daughters,

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 98-102.

³⁶ See Chapter XII, "Considerations on the Decline of Italian Art."

³⁷ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, pp. 102-103.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 102.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 107.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 109.

observes the two women through a curtain at the musical bank, their actions are made clearer and more convincing by the addition of several circumstantial details: Zulora drops a few pieces of commercial coin into an alms box and the three women give all the musical bank money they receive back to a verger who returns it to a coffer from which it had been taken.⁴¹ A little lower down the application of this account of the Musical Banks to the Church is made clear beyond a doubt. Butler had written originally that the banks declared a bonus on their shares once in every three hundred and fifty years and that now only two hundred years had passed since the last bonus; these time intervals he remorselessly changed to every thirty thousand years and two thousand years respectively.⁴²

A good example of Butler's improvements in style that may be taken to stand for many others like it is the following from this chapter: in 1872 he wrote, explaining that in time of commercial panic no one would turn to the Musical Banks, "A few might do so, some from habit and early training, some from hope of gain, but few from a genuine belief that the money was good: the masses turned instinctively to the other currency." This is revised to read "A few might do so, some from habit and early training, some from the instinct that prompts us to catch at any straw when we think ourselves drowning, but few from a genuine belief that the Musical Banks could save them from financial ruin, if they were unable to meet their engagements in the other kind of currency."⁴³

A definite change in attitude occurs later in the discussion of the value of Musical Bank coins. In 1872 Butler wrote that the Musical Bank coins, used in church services but never used in every-day life, and the commercial coins of the realm are very much alike. The Musical Bank coin "is not counterfeit. It is not,

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

take it all round, a spurious article made of base metal in imitation of the money which is in daily use." He then describes the pieces as being some of them "really of exquisite beauty" although others are nothing but pieces of ordinary currency with a new design stamped upon them. "Some," he admits, "were plainly bad; of these last there were not many; still there were enough for them to be not uncommon." In 1901 all this approval is changed to vigorous denunciation. The Musical Bank coins now become "like a toy money, or the counters used for certain games at cards; for, notwithstanding the beauty of the designs, the material on which they were stamped was as nearly valueless as possible. Some were covered with tin foil, but the greater part were frankly of a cheap metal the exact nature of which I was not able to determine."⁴⁴ Butler's break with artificial and false religion, which in 1872 had been a fairly recent event in his life, had endured and become complete. He grew to hate hypocrisy and falsehood more and more the older he became.

The concluding five paragraphs of Chapter XV are also 1901 additions. They present the other side of the picture, for they are written in defense of true transcendentalism and show Butler's mature admiration for genuine religion. The man who wrote these pages could not be called an irreverent sceptic. "It seems," he writes, "as though the need for some law over and above, and sometimes even conflicting with, the law of the land, must spring from something that lies deep down in man's nature; indeed, it is hard to think that man could ever have become man at all, but for the gradual evolution of a perception that though this world looms so large when we are in it, it may seem a little thing when we have got away from it."⁴⁵ Religion, he concludes, arguing on the basis of his *Life and Habit* theory, is "an attempt to uphold the unfathomable and unconscious instinctive wisdom of millions of past generations, against the comparatively shallow, con-

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 118.

sciously reasoning, and ephemeral conclusions drawn from that of the last thirty or forty."⁴⁶ The chapter then ends with a forecast put here on revision in 1901 to pave the way for *Erewhon Revisited*, that the Erewhonians were on the whole so irreligious that "any such startling event as is sure to arise sooner or later may serve as a nucleus to a new order of things that will be more in harmony with both the heads and hearts of the people."⁴⁷ If he had lived to see their advent Butler would not have been fooled by the psychological appeal of our present-day totalitarian states!

In 1872 Butler was more conventionally romantic than in 1901. In Chapter XVI, his hero falls in love with Arowhena, Mrs. Nosnibor's daughter, and determines that "come what might I would certainly marry her." The revised edition of 1901 says only that the hero has fallen in love.⁴⁸ Later in the chapter when Arowhena begs her lover to believe in the reality of Erewhonian abstractions the following sentimental passage is dropped out: "She was evidently so sincere, and looked so genuinely grieved at hearing anyone doubt what she had been always told that she should regard as a first principle of belief, that I was fonder and fonder of her at every word she said. Never did she look so beautiful. There was in her face such a sweet and wondering simplicity that it was all I could do to avoid telling her that I had been converted by my own eyes into accepting faith's existence as a divinity."⁴⁹ The final paragraph of this chapter showing what Butler himself thought of Arowhena's religious ideas, even if Higgs did not get the point, is not in the first edition of *Erewhon* but appears in all editions after the first. It expresses Butler's feeling about true religion as well as anything he wrote. "Nevertheless, her remarks have haunted me, and I have since met with many very godly people who have had a great knowl-

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 119.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 120.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 126.

edge of divinity, but no sense of the divine: and again, I have seen a radiance upon the face of those who were worshipping the divine either in art or nature — in picture or statue — in field or cloud or sea — in man, woman, or child — which I have never seen kindled by any talking about the nature and attributes of God. Mention but the word divinity, and our sense of the divine is clouded.”⁵⁰

In the 1872 edition of *Erewhon* a slip occurred in Chapter XVII which is corrected in all later copies: in paragraph five Butler inadvertently gave away the meaning of his anagram “Ydgrun” by writing “Grundy” out in plain English. A little later in this chapter a long paragraph criticizing the worshipers of Ydgrun for not trying to convert their fellow men is omitted from the 1901 edition,⁵¹ partly because it is rather involved and depends upon an elaborate metaphor comparing a man’s life to a painting, and partly because Butler had come to feel less certain that a perfect gentleman should not be reticent about his beliefs. A little lower down Butler had written that the Ydgrunites were most like Englishmen educated at Winchester and Oxford or Cambridge; in 1901 he omitted the reference to these particular schools.⁵² The discussion of immortality with which the chapter concludes has added to it in 1901 the criticism by an Erewhonian of Hamlet’s “To be or not to be” soliloquy. “‘The respect’ to quote your poet, ‘that makes calamity of so long a life’ is the consideration that though calamity may live long, the sufferer may live longer still.”⁵³

Chapters XVIII and XIX are altered only in minor respects. In Chapter XX the third paragraph is mostly new and replaces a rather involved paragraph from the early editions.⁵⁴ Later in this

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 128.

⁵¹ Ibid., omitted from between the two paragraphs on p. 131.

⁵² Ibid., p. 132.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 135.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 149-150.

chapter, paragraphs ten and eleven on the subject of limiting families by infanticide and on education are new material.⁵⁵ Butler here sets forth his belief in practical or technical education after the old apprentice fashion: "An art can only be learned in the workshop of those who are winning their bread by it."⁵⁶ On this matter of education he had written at first that in Erewhon parents whose children were not earning a competence by the time they were twenty-five were going to be taxed; the age limit was reduced in 1901 to twenty years.⁵⁷ With the passing of time Butler had become more convinced than ever of the desirability of an early separation between parents and children.

Chapter XXI is almost unaltered, but Chapter XXII, a chapter added in 1901, is largely new material. A short paragraph on genius had been dropped from Chapter X of the original *Erewhon*: it now starts Chapter XXII, which then goes on to an extended discussion of the topic. This is material which Butler had been gathering in note-book form for several years and in 1901 finally put into *Erewhon*. Henry Festing Jones printed some of it in the *Note-Books* of 1909.⁵⁸ The hero of the book is vigorously attacked for suggesting to a group of professors from an Erewhonian college with whom he is dining that schools ought to encourage originality; the Professor of Worldly Wisdom who "had the reputation of having done more perhaps than any other living man to suppress any kind of originality" maintains that it is the duty of a teacher to make his students think as he does.⁵⁹ The young professor who took the hero aside after this discussion might have been Butler himself, for his remarks are strictly in keeping with Butler's own views. "He said it was as immoral to be too far in front of one's own age, as to lag too far behind it. 'If a man can carry his neighbors with him, he may say

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵⁸ Shrewsbury Edition, pp. 291-300.

⁵⁹ *Erewhon*, Shrewsbury Edition, p. 165.

what he likes; but if not, what insult can be more gratuitous than the telling them what they do not want to know? A man should remember that intellectual over-indulgence is one of the most insidious and disgraceful forms that excess can take.'"⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the hero is prevented from hearing more of this young professor's interesting ideas.

Following this episode there are three paragraphs from the original *Erewhon* on the hypothetical language which was the main subject of study in Erewhonian colleges, and then the new material recommences. Butler appears to write in defense of the Erewhon hatred for originality, pointing out that if it were not for their schools geniuses would become dangerously common. Academic institutions in England serve the same purpose as they do in Erewhon, he believes. "No doubt the marvelous development of journalism in England, as also the fact that our seats of learning aim rather at fostering mediocrity than anything higher, is due to our subconscious recognition of the fact that it is even more necessary to check exuberance of mental development than to encourage it."⁶¹ He reveals his true opinion of all this, however, in a concluding remark that such schools are in fact "little better than cancer in the stomach."⁶²

Another addition to this chapter is the account of Erewhonian practices in art education, in which subject emphasis is placed both on the theoretical and on the commercial aspects of the study. All art students have to learn the prices obtained by leading artists for their pictures.⁶³ The description of the college town is from the old *Erewhon*,⁶⁴ but the witty paragraphs on the "Fear of giving themselves away" disease so prevalent among professors and on "the art of sitting gracefully on a fence" are new.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 167.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 169.

⁶² Ibid., p. 169.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 169-170.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

No cure for these disgusting diseases has yet been discovered.⁶⁵

The paragraphs at the end of the chapter on the revolt against the machines which led to the destruction of all machines in Erewhon and to the passage of laws against them are not new;⁶⁶ and they lead directly into the following chapter on "The Book of the Machines" which with small changes and corrections is also from the original *Erewhon*. Here and there are revisions made for the first time in the second edition of 1872, as for instance the comparison in Chapter XXIV of the railway station of a large city to the heart of a living organism.⁶⁷ The four concluding paragraphs of Chapter XXV were likewise added in the second edition.⁶⁸

Chapters XXVI and XXVII on "The Rights of Animals" and "The Rights of Vegetables" were written and added in 1901. Chapter XXVI is one of the most effective chapters in the book and reveals Butler's ability in the writing of many-meaninged satire which, while talking about one subject, the eating of meat, has several different subjects for its theme. It is in essence an allegory of the conflict between Common Sense and Duty. Chapter XXVII on "The Rights of Vegetables," also new, is an effective restatement of much of the argument presented in *Life and Habit*, showing that no line can be drawn between the consciousness of animals and of plants. It develops once more Butler's belief that all beauty and perfection are the results of hard conscious effort which, at the moment of perfection, has lapsed into the state of unconsciousness once more. It is not likely that even the beautiful lilies mentioned in the Bible achieved their beauty "without having ever taken any pains about the matter."⁶⁹ Butler concludes these two chapters by expressing his astonishment that the people of Erewhon ever took such notions

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 171.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 174.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 183.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 203-205.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 220.

seriously. "Indeed," he writes, "I can see no hope for the Erewhonians till they have got to understand that reason uncorrected by instinct is as bad as instinct uncorrected by reason."⁷⁰ Is this evidence that by 1901 Butler had forgiven his own contemporaries for their failure to attend to the many books he himself had written?

The survey of the growth of *Erewhon* which has been undertaken here should make possible a better appreciation of the reasons for the book's mosaic-like character; and, by placing various passages correctly in their relation to Butler's other works and by showing what a large number of them were late additions, should add to the reader's understanding of the book itself in its historical setting and in its relation to Butler's development as a writer.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

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Bibliographical Notes

THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA. By H. Rider Haggard [i.e. William Adolf Baillie-Grohman]. Copyright, 1900, in the United States and Great Britain by C. Arthur Pearson, Limited.

The true joys of book-collecting are to be experienced not so much in the spacious bookshop, complete with rare volumes, presentation copies and MSS. ranged about its walls, but in the open air bookstalls or the cheap 6d. box where, even in these days, it is still possible to pick up a periodical, for example, which has eluded the search of many years for the sum of 3d. or 6d. The thrill which a keen collector gets from such a fortunate discovery has to be experienced to be appreciated but there is also an equal feeling of elation when it is found that a book has been assigned to the authorship of the wrong person.

A case in point is *The New South Africa*, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1900. This has been attributed (quite rightly on the face of the evidence of the title-page) to Sir Rider Haggard by Mr. George L. McKay in his *Bibliography of the Writings of Sir Rider Haggard*, 1930, and his data was taken from a copy in the possession of the Library of Congress.

For many years the writer has searched for a copy of the above pamphlet without success and enquiries made of many leading booksellers made it clear that they themselves had never seen a copy of the work. He held the view that it was perhaps an extract printed for copyright purposes in America of part of Haggard's *The Last Boer War*, published in 1899, although aware of the fact that the latter had been published in the U. S. A. with the title of *A History of the Transvaal*. Frequent correspondence upon this subject with Mr. McKay eventually caused the latter to send a photostat of the whole work made from the copy in the Library of Congress. Stamped on the front cover are the dates of entry—2063 Jan. 23, 1900¹—and 2nd. Copy delivered to the Library of Congress Feb. 8, 1900. The pamphlet consists of two chapters making a total of 16 pp. It opens with a description of two bear-hunting experiences and how the author shot his first bear in company with an old trapper named Bonanza Clark; this is followed by a discussion on the bison whilst Chapter 2 is devoted to the fur seal.

From reading the first paragraph only, it is quite clear to anyone conversant with Haggard's work that it could not have been written by him, for the following reasons:—

[2.] In his autobiography, *The Days of My Life*, he makes no mention of bears at all, let alone the fact that he had never shot any and only once, on page 70

¹ The British Museum copy of this pamphlet is stamped 24. Jan. 1900.

of Vol. II, is the bison named — and that as a mere passing incident which enlivens a weary train journey across the great plains of Texas.

[b] The first time Haggard was ever in America was on his way to Mexico to stay with J. Gladwyn Jebb in 1891 — a visit marred by the tragic death of his only son in England — and the second visit to the States did not take place until 1905 when Haggard was sent there by the British Government as Commissioner to report on the Salvation Army Colonies.

[c] The style of writing is certainly not Haggard's.

In order to secure proof that the above deductions were correct, a letter was sent giving the whole facts to Miss Haggard and in addition, notes were sent to the publishers, Messrs. C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., and Haggard's literary agents, Messrs. A. P. Watt & Son, in the hope that one or the other of these firms, if not both, might be able to trace the pamphlet. Neither firm could find any record of such a title and in the meantime a reply had been received from Miss Haggard in which she states emphatically that it was not her father's work. It was therefore clear that Sir Rider was not the author, but the possibility that it might have been his brother Andrew was not overlooked — for he had hunted and shot a good deal in Canada and the U. S. A. and these trips had provided him with material for several articles. Accordingly enquiries were made but again a negative answer resulted, and thus it was necessary to seek a clue in the pamphlet itself if possible.

Towards the end of the description of the bear hunt with which the article in *The New South Africa* opens, a letter is printed which, it is stated, was written by the trapper Clark to the author. The phrasing and spelling of the letter clearly show that the writer was an uneducated man, but in it also there is the phrase "Well Mr. Grohmen . . .," and the context is such as to indicate plainly that "Mr. Grohmen" must have been the recipient and incidentally the writer of the article. Furthermore it was noticed that the district in which these bear hunts took place was "in the Big Windriver Valley." Now an article which appeared in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for the year 1894 under the title of *A Winter's Sport in the Rockies* contains these words in the third paragraph:—

And the writer on an autumn and winter fur-hunting and big-game shooting expedition into the heart of the rugged Big Wind River Divide. . .

The similarity of the district — which is obviously the same in both articles — is sufficiently marked to prove of interest but when it is noted that the writer of the *English Illustrated Magazine* article was W. Baillie-Grohman, it is not too much to say, even at this stage, that he was also the author of the contents of *The New South Africa* — for what is the name "Grohmen" in the trapper's letter more likely to be than Grohman misspelt — particularly as Clark was uneducated?

Following up this argument, therefore, researches were made as to Baillie-Grohman's publications about the year 1900, and it was discovered that in that year he published the following book: *Fifteen Years Sport and Life in the Hunting Ground of Western America and British Columbia*, London, H. Cox, 1900. An examination of a copy of this was made and it was found that most of Chapter

VII and a part of Chapter VIII contained the actual text of *The New South Africa*, practically word for word, thus establishing beyond all possible doubt the identity of the author to be W. Baillie-Grohman and not Sir Rider Haggard.

But one is at a loss to account for Haggard's name being given as the author although it is obvious that a mistake has been made in the binding up of the sheets, and the question is how did this occur?

The solution may perhaps be found in *The Days of My Life*; here, on p. 134 of Vol. II, Haggard stated that in the year 1900 he went to Florence with his family. It was the time of the Boer War and he had been asked by the *Times* newspaper to go to South Africa as their war-correspondent, but for various reasons had refused. However, Mr. Arthur Pearson had suggested that he should write a series of articles for the daily papers entitled *The New South Africa* and to this Haggard agreed. But the engagement, he tells us, was never fulfilled, for the reason that the war lasted so long that the public was tired of anything connected with Africa and so Pearson himself suggested that the engagement should be cancelled.

On the face of this, therefore, it is quite likely that either Messrs. Pearson or their American agents prepared the outer cover of the pamphlet under discussion in readiness for the issuing of the articles when they appeared; that this cover was sent to America (presuming it was printed in England as is likely) and then, when the agreement was cancelled, through some oversight this cover was not destroyed but used inadvertently for another author's article. No one can be certain as to what actually happened at this late date, but the deduction that such a course was taken is at least feasible.

J. E. SCOTT.

Reviews

A. L. A. Catalog Rules, Author and Title Entries, Prepared by the Catalog Code Revision Committee of the American Library Association With the collaboration of a Committee of the (British) Library Association. Preliminary American Second Edition. American Library Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1941. xxxii, 408, [1] pp. 9½ x 6½ inches.

In 1841 the British Museum published the first attempt to codify cataloguing practice on modern lines, and just a hundred years later follows the present work. A comparison of the two sets of rules yields many interesting conclusions, of which the chief is that Panizzi and his associates well and truly laid the foundations for a structure the size and complexity of which they could not have imagined. It is also clear beyond a doubt that the present rules, taking them by and large, are in their essence final. Developments there will certainly be; adjustments of detail should still, I think, be made; but in general one can say without hesitation that the conscientious and devoted labor which has been put into the volume before us has produced a code which can stand comparison with the corresponding code of any profession whatever. The reputation of the A. L. A. and of American librarians stands very high: the volume before us will raise it still higher.

When circumstances are more favorable I hope to present a general theoretical disquisition on cataloguing, with these rules in the foreground. At present all I want to do is to submit, with all respect and diffidence, a few criticisms of detail. I have made my comments as brief as possible.

First some generalities and definitions. As it is agreed that words should not deliberately be charged with multiple meanings would it not be well to replace "reference" by "cross-reference?" Each of these terms has a clearly defined meaning; why then make the former do duty also for the latter? (May I also suggest here, in accordance with a similar principle, that the time has now come to write "titlepage" as a single word?) The question of the form and content of cross-references is a big one, to which I hope to return at a later date. I should like to cite one example, however, of inadequacy in the present rules. When two societies have been united

under a new name the rule is to enter under each of the original names, with "see also" cross-references (p. 101); but is the reader not entitled to be told *why* he is asked to refer from A and B to C? If space is not available to recite the entire history of the society under each heading, the same result can often be attained quite briefly, e.g.:

instead of: Philosophical Society of Victoria . . .

see also Royal Society of Victoria.

write: Philosophical Society of Victoria . . .

afterwards Royal Society of Victoria.

There seems to be something of an inconsistency in the forms of cross-reference shown in rule 20a. From a main work to a continuation the form shown is "for a continuation of this work see," but in the case of a supplement the form is "see also." There seems to be no reason for this differentiation. A glimpse of the obvious: "There must always be something in the catalog under the heading from which a *see also* reference is made" (p. 232). How could there not be? As it stands this instruction is tautological.

It is worth considering whether it might not be worth while to restrict the application of the term "type-facsimile" to a book which really is an "exact reproduction" (p. xxiv). Some works so called really correspond to this description: they are set in the same type-face, sometimes even with the same type. Others resemble their originals only to the extent that each page contains the same matter. I suggest that only the former kind should be called "type-facsimiles," the latter being described as "typographical imitations" or something of the kind.

The two definitions of "printed as manuscript" (p. xxviii) do not include what is probably the most widely used meaning of this phrase, that is, "provisional edition." When an author places the words "printed as manuscript" on his title-page he usually means that he is publishing provisional conclusions or that the nature of the subject is such, or is so rapidly changing, that his results are likely to alter. Thus, when the Library of Congress publishes a volume of its classification the statement "printed as manuscript" does not mean the volume has not had "final editorial revision," nor that it is "printed for private circulation."

The definition of "private press" (p. xxviii) needs revision. "One which produces books" is incomplete because of the ambiguity of the word "produces"; the term "private press" is applied (unfortunately in my opinion) both to presses which really produce (that is, manufacture) books and to those which merely publish (the Nonesuch Press is an example). It is cer-

tainly not the case that these books are "but rarely distributed through trade channels"; all the well-known English presses use these channels. The admirable note under "publisher" might add that there has lately been an increasing tendency for the bigger publishers to acquire or establish their own printing works.

May I suggest that these rules should set a good example by dropping the practice of inverting authors' names in references (I mean references, not cross-references!) and in describing contents (p. 303)? The conventional order of a personal name should not be disturbed except for functional reasons, as in an alphabetical author list. What purpose is served by writing "cf. Weitenkampf, Frank"? Nor has complete uniformity been achieved in every detail of these footnote references; a code for this purpose would be welcome. (Note, by the way, that "cf."; why is this latin abbreviation preferred to the English "cp."?)

In some respects I think that the rules are not sufficiently neutral in matters of controversy. For instance, rule 9 writes of works "received through a medium"; it might be more judicious to say "described as being received . . ." Another example of this practice is the use of the word "Catholic"; the meaning of this term is a matter of conflicting opinion, and therefore to apply it solely to the church also known as Roman Catholic appears dubious (the footnote on p. 111 notwithstanding). However, I do not wish to enlarge on this beyond pointing out that this usage cannot be recommended in an Anglo-American code without some qualification, for in England the legal designation is "Roman Catholic." In rule 45 I should prefer "was canonized" to "achieved sainthood"; should there not be some reference here to the stage of beatification? (By the way, careless wording in the footnote on p. 142, cp. the second word of p. 143, makes it appear that a synagogue is a place for Christian worship!)

In the rule dealing with shrines and the like it is said (168b) that "occasionally the place has for its sole significance the location of the shrine. In such cases the place name alone is sufficient for the heading." I find this most unacceptable. For one thing it puts an intolerable onus on the cataloguer: by what criterion is he to make such a decision? Lourdes is here given as an example, but I do not see how it can be said of a place which is many centuries old, the principal town of its region, with a considerable population and an occasionally important place in history, still having its ancient fortress, that it has no significance apart from its shrine. Such a statement could, indeed, only be true of a shrine in the open country, covered by rule 168c; 168b might well be deleted.

Next a few linguistic comments. I want to make a general protest against those rules (such as 2a) which call upon the cataloguer to write in languages other than his own. This is not only pedantic but impossible. You can provide the cataloguer with all the cribs you like, but cases will still come up in which he will have to find a formula unknown to him. Surely a cataloguer should not be asked to use forms and phrases parrot-wise? In rule 12 the cataloguer is even told to use a German word (*programm*) although a perfectly good English equivalent is available, and that irrespective of the language of the dissertation.

The rule (no. 60) that ancient Greek writers should be entered under the Latin form of their names appears to me unjustifiable. It would be reasonable to enter such names in the author's own form or in the form of the cataloguer's language, but to prescribe a form which is neither seems to be the worst type of compromise — the kind of thing that leads the casual reader to think that librarians spend their time thinking out ways of making things difficult for him! There is no harm, to be sure, in forms like Aeschylus and Apollonius, but Aelianus, Aesopus, Homerus, Jamblichus are really somewhat irritating to a layman (and not only, I dare say, to him). Rule 64 gives admirable instructions for the treatment of classicized names; it involves the use sometimes of the original name, sometimes of the classicized form, with cross-references from the form not chosen. I should like to see some formula devised which would inform the reader which form is which, a matter which is by no means self-evident in such names as Melanchthon-Schwarzerd and Reuchlin-Capnion.

Rule 58b does not provide for authors who are bilingual and write sometimes in one language and sometimes in the other, their names appearing in different forms, as in the case of Polish-Russian authors. I suggest that the instruction for the treatment of "Russian names of non-Russian origin" (p. 336) be reworded. This instruction is really intended to refer to names the bearers of which previously used them in a non-Russian form.

The cataloguer is given a difficult, if not impossible, job to do when he has to decide (rule 192b) what is a well-established English form of a foreign place-name. Even among the examples given on pp. 170-171 there are some doubtful cases: Lyons and Marseilles are not regarded as well-established forms, while Tananarivo is. I should myself have said the opposite in each case. Curiously enough, since Madagascar came into

the news in the present war the B. B. C. has used the English form, while American broadcasters have said *Antanarive*.

It is difficult to find fault with the treatment of personal names. It is implied in rule 57 that sobriquets such as *Il Lasca* and *El Greco* should be entered under the articles. This is tempering the wind with a vengeance! However, if this is considered necessary there must surely also be a cross-reference under the main part of the sobriquet? In the rule on p. 42 governing the alphabetisation of Dutch names something more might be said about names in *van de*, *van den* and *van der*. Such names are written in either one, two or three words. An example is the bibliographer *Vanderhaeghen*, whose name also appears in the forms *van der Haeghen* and *vander Haeghen*. As the rules now stand the instruction in 36IIa5 partly contradicts 36IIb3, and ghosts could easily be produced. I have myself now decided, for my own purposes, to enter all Dutch (and, by the way, Flemish) names in *van de*, *van den* and *van der* under *Van* (as is done in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*). This practice is illogical and may not commend itself, but the rule cannot be left as it stands.

Rule 36, which recommends the omission of unused forenames, does not strike me as an improvement on the British Museum practice. There must of course be a cross-reference from one form to the other; that being so nothing is lost, and something may be gained, by making the cross-reference to rather than from the correct (that is, the fullest) form. However, I shall not protest if I am told that this is pedantic.

Some notes now on special classes of books. The preliminary statement on p. 174 to the section on title entry specifies that a work is to be considered as anonymous if "the author's name does not appear on the title-page, but may occur, openly or concealed, elsewhere in the book." The effect of this ruling would be that every book published without a title-page would have to be regarded as anonymous, even if it was issued before the title-page came into use. As this is certainly not intended I suggest the insertion, after "title-page" of the words "or the colophon in the cases of a book published without title-page." In rule 229 (cp. 239) the cataloguer is told to give special attention to the transcription of the titles of "books of exceptional rarity or curiosity." In a footnote this rather curt ruling is expanded so far as "early" books are concerned; but apart from this class of works could not the publications in question be rather more carefully defined?

The rule for the cataloguing of dictionaries (no. 218) is not adequately stated, for it certainly cannot be intended that the instruction to enter

dictionaries under their titles "unless decidedly better known by the name of their editors" be taken literally. If it were, all the little-known old dictionaries would be entered under their titles, with chaotic results. One of the examples is not very happily chosen: a dictionary always cited as *N. E. D.* or *O. E. D.* cannot be said to be decidedly better known by Murray's name.

It is notoriously difficult to define a serial, etc., and I do not feel that the difficulty has yet been adequately overcome. It is not absolutely true, for instance, that periodicals are "intended to appear . . . at stated or regular intervals," for there are journals which appear at intervals explicitly stated to be "zwangslos." It is clear that the term "serial" is not intended to cover either a series or a newspaper; yet the definition excludes neither, while "series" are defined separately and "newspapers" not at all, not even in rule 213, which deals with them. With the utmost diffidence I submit the following:

Serial: A publication, other than a single work issued in parts, successive numbers of which are published at intervals.

Newspaper: A serial devoted to current affairs generally and produced not less frequently than once a week, or, in exceptional cases such as newspapers produced in remote localities or in prison-camps or under emergency conditions, once a month.

The treatment of sequels in rule 21 strikes me as rather inadequate. The rule provides that a cross-reference be made from the first work in the series to the second, and from the second and subsequent works to the works immediately preceding and (except the last) succeeding it. This is rather tiresome in the case of a voluminous writer much given to sequels, for in order to find all the works in a series it would be necessary to trace them step by step. I suggest that under the first work of such a series the entire series be set out in order, and that under subsequent works some such notation as this be given: "First [second, etc.] sequel to X."

Rules 159 and 160, which govern the treatment of schools, could bear some amplification. They do not mention the difference on either side of the Atlantic in the meaning of the term "public schools," nor allow for the English complications of grant-supported and grant-aided schools, complications which are very likely to increase in the future. Similarly, the directions in rule 187, covering business firms, require expansion in respect of firms established in more than one country and having greater or lesser variations in name. In such cases it is probably best to adopt the form used in the country of origin, but the ramifications of international busi-

ness sometimes make this fact rather difficult to determine. At the end of rule 188 some term other than "national bank" might be preferable in view of the definite meaning it has everywhere outside the States.

Something now on imprints and collation. Rule 263b says, "If the colophon date is earlier than the title-page date, . . . disregard it in the ordinary modern work." What is referred to is no doubt a slight discrepancy in date, which usually indicates that the printing of a book was finished towards the end of one year and that it was published in the next. It sometimes happens, however, that an emergency prevents publication for some time, occasionally for years; in such cases the discrepancy should not be ignored. The instructions for the dating of undated Bibles (rule 208d3) seem superfluous since they are only a slightly different version of the general directions given at the end of rule 267.

It is remarkable that rule 322, which gives instructions for recording the sizes of books, does not state exactly what it is that is being measured. I believe the intention is that the covers of the books should be measured, not the page; but I think that the latter would be preferable for more than one reason. For instance, two identical copies of a work are given the appearance of being different if they are put into different types of binding. Further, nothing is said in the rule about the treatment of large paper copies (though there is a bare reference in 323b10), of copies which have been cropped, and the like.

The first footnote on p. xxxi is not very happily phrased. A volume has not got a front as distinct from a beginning, for it is the latter which makes the former. Consequently it is a bit of a bull to say that in Oriental works "the title-page and the beginning of the text are normally at the back of the volume." Among the examples of imprints given in rule 242b occurs "Cambridge, England"; could not a more realistic example be found? This one must be of the highest degree of rarity. The use of "numb.l." (rule 275) seems rather awkward. Why not stick to the internationally standard "ff." or "f."? Nor do I think that, e.g., "2 p.L." is as convenient as "[4]p." The practice of printing the ordinal numbers with a full point (e.g. l.-3. année, as in rule 214a6b) can surely be abandoned without loss or inconvenience?

The attempt to differentiate between [!] and [sic] when correcting misprints and the like (rule 228) seems rather over-subtle, but even so what appears to me the chief consideration is not mentioned: the word *sic* is a statement, but an exclamation point is a comment and therefore objectionable. I would suggest that the use of "*i.e.*" for making a correction

is also unsuitable, since this abbreviation represents an explanation, not a correction. It can hardly be equated with "or rather," which is what is really intended.

The entire long chapter on capitalization is a monument to patient and systematic research. Yet there is a fly even in this amber: I should like to see these rules worked out on more consistently logical lines. I limit myself to a single example. Among the practices current in various languages two stand out because of their uniqueness: only in German are substantives always written with initial capitals and only in English are adjectives derived from names nearly always treated in the same way. Neither of these practices has any real justification, and the present rules have dropped the former but retained the later. Is this not to take rather a parochial view? I strongly urge that English also be brought into line with other languages.

The whole of rule 224 (pp. 232-237) is a repetition of what appears in other rules and strikes me as superfluous. As all cross-references are identical in form there seems to be no advantage in repeating these examples in a collective form at such length. I see that in the generally admirable index the details of rule 224 have not been set out; thus rule 38, dealing with "unused forenames" is duly indexed under both "unused" and "forenames," but 224a is not cited, though it is on the same subject. Evidently Miss Shultz agrees with me that this repetition is not worth while! However, I must ungraciously point out that if it is worth setting out it is *a fortiori* worth indexing.

Finally, a small collection of trivia. At the bottom of p. iv, after "Purnell" insert "London library" and for "Croyden" read "Croydon"; p. 25, line 4, before "Ernest" take in "*Sir*"; rule 19, first example, no entry is shown under Weaks; p. 56, line 2, delete point after "ibn"; p. 88, rule 86, line 3, for "*statues*" read "*statutes*"; p. 108 (cp. p. 259), is not Liège better than Liège?; the note on p. 142 is contradicted by the second word on p. 143; p. 179, last line, for "work" read "word"; p. 181, line 14, for "added entries III-VII" read ". . . III-VIII"; p. 181, penult. line, a word has dropped out; the typographical eras in the footnote on p. 246 do not quite correspond with those on pp. 267-268; p. 261, penult. line, for "old, established" read "old-established"; p. 272, rule 258, something has gone wrong with the Parma imprint.

THEODORE BESTERMAN.

VON HAGEN, VICTOR WOLFGANG. *The Aztec and Maya Papermakers By Victor Wolfgang von Hagen With an Introduction by Dard Hunter* [device] J. J. Augustin Publishers New York [cop. 1943]. [5] leaves, 115, [3] pp. + 32 numbered plates. Colored folded front., partly folded plates, facsim., map, paper specimens. Edition of 220 copies. 13 x 10 inches. \$36.00.

One more age-old tradition shattered! More information misinformation! One more bubble burst! One more correction for textbooks and encyclopedias!

The first paper in the western world made from the fig tree — almost going back to Genesis and the record there how the man and the woman in the garden sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons? — not from the universally useful maguey or agave or century plant, as we so long have accepted so willingly and unquestioningly!

It wasn't Columbus that discovered America, but half a dozen others from different places at different times! Where is it all to stop!

Speaking seriously, Dr. von Hagen makes out a good case, and most of us will have to revise our mode of thought and way of speech when it comes to pre-Conquest paper made on this side of the water.

It all seems quite reasonable that for Mexico and tropical America the maguey should supply paper, as it did so many other services. It surely was quite as important in the daily life there as papyrus was in Egypt or bamboo has always been in China. When a plant gives pulque and mescal and tequila for drink, sisal and hemp for rope and other textile fabrics, serves as food for cattle, gives a soap that lathers as well in salt water as in fresh, its roots used for medicine, its leaves for thatching and insulation, itself for hedges, and then with all that in mind when you hear it serves also as source for paper stock it seems little more than natural to bow your head and ask "Why not? Is that all? Nothing more?"

As a matter of fact, neither papyrus nor the American tropical product is true paper if we limit "paper" to macerated and interwoven fibres, soaked, dried, pressed. Papyrus is laminated fibres of *Cyperus papyrus*. The Aztec and Mayan product, like the tapa cloth of the South Seas, is the beaten inner bark of the fig tree, one of the mulberry or moraceae family. The tapa cloth and the fig-tree "paper"—neither of them macerated and interwoven—serve both as clothing and as writing material, something reminiscent of the way silk serves so many purposes in eastern Asia.

But set that all aside for the moment and here accept "paper" as the name for any writing material.

How did we get so far on a wrong road and come to count it as a gift of the agave or maguey?

Just one more instance of what happens when we swallow hook, bait, and sinker the assertion passed on to us with the voice of authority.

For the English-speaking world — at least, on this side of the waters — Prescott is usually the explanation. Most of us got our first and last impression of things Mexican and Peruvian from his fascinating pages, which incidentally made their bow just one hundred years ago, in December, 1843. We were quite willing to take his word that "their manuscripts were made of different materials, cotton cloths, or skins, nicely prepared; of a composition of silk and gum; but for the most part from the leaves of the aloe, *Agave americana*, called by the natives, *maguey*."

Most of us were quite content to accept that with no questioning. The constitutional skeptic might have looked to see where Prescott gleaned his story, and then would have noted that the sources cited are Lorenzana, Boturini, Humboldt, Peter Martyr.

And he would have noted that the first three say plainly that paper came from maguey; the last, if Prescott had scanned him carefully gives the inner bark of trees as source. The last relied on first hand testimony of the messengers bearing the reports and tributes Cortes sent his sovereigns. He went back to their statement that they had seen paper made; the others took "they say" for their stories, none speaking from first hand observation.

Our friends relying on other tongues than English fell back probably on the Prescott sources, perhaps adding also Clavigero who wrote in 1780 and Motolinía who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Humboldt made his trip in 1804, starting in 1799, the report appearing at Paris in 1815 (*Vues des Cordillères*). The Mexican Archbishop Lorenzana wrote in 1770. Chevalier Lorenzo Boturini's book is dated 1764, his stay in Mexico having been from 1735 to 1740.

It all gives just one more instance of the need for a healthy agnosticism, for insistence on getting to the bottom, for learning just what contemporary and competent observers set down as the tale of what they heard and learned, what they saw with their own eyes.

Back of all these names — except Martyr — stands the good Fray Toribio Benavente (Motolinía) who wrote in the middle of the sixteenth century and is apparently the earliest to mention maguey or *metl* as the

source. He reported merely what he heard, at least cites no authority for his statement: "a good paper is made from *metl* . . . There are other trees from which it is made in the hot-lands and of these they are accustomed to use a great quantity. The tree and the paper is called *amatl* and from this they call letters and books and paper *amate* . . ."

Metl, the dictionaries say, is the native name for our *agave*, so called by Linné after *Agave*, the illustrious and noble mother of *Penthus*, as a tribute to the tremendous importance of the plant for the whole Aztec life and world, for its noble appearance also.

Motolinía is somewhat indefinite, speaking of "other trees . . . in the hot-lands" and so on. Perhaps he knew about the fig tree in the hot-lands, perhaps he never thought to ask if those "other trees" were the same as his *metl*, perhaps he had no curiosity, quite content to accept the tale as it was told to him, perhaps — many things.

He certainly says nothing about his having seen paper made either from *metl* or from "other trees," apparently was content to accept "they say."

Francisco Hernández in 1571, half a century after the Conquest, saw paper made in Tepoztlan — not from maguey leaves, but — from the inner bark of the fig tree, *Ficus petiolaris*. He tells how the natives cut the larger branches, soak them over night in the river water, remove the outer bark and clean off the coagulated sap, beat and pound the bark with wooden or stone mallets, cut the strips into sheets once they become pliable. (His *Rerum Medicarum novae Hispaniae Thesaurus seu Plantarum* did not appear until 1649, in Rome, but that is another story with no effect on the accuracy or credibility of his testimony.)

And even earlier than Hernández stood Peter Martyr who had talked with the Cortes messengers and who had heard them say they had seen the paper made from what he called the "membrane of trees, from the substance that grows beneath the upper bark." *Ex ficuum tabellis fiunt libelli*.

Twenty or thirty years later Bishop Diego de Landa in Yucatan followed Archbishop Zumárraga in Mexico in burning all the native books he could lay hands on, for which crime we need here make no comment. We may thank him, however, for his telling us that "the paper was made from the roots of trees, and was given a white luster on which they could write perfectly well."

As to the use of "roots of trees," remember that the fig is sometimes epiphytic, living on, but not drawing its food from, the host, the slender aerial roots clinging closely to the parent branch, finally reaching the earth

and soil, crossing one another while in the air, finally strangling the host, by which time the fig trunk has grown strong enough to support itself.

Dr. von Hagen brings an impressive array of writers to back his thesis. The early authors refer clearly to the fig. Not until Motolinía does maguey come into the picture. Then one man follows the other, and not until the twentieth century do we see any one trying to dig to the bottom.

Aside from the reports of travellers stands the microscopic examination of the material itself. There the record is impressive, nay convincing. In 1910 Dr. Rudolph Schwede studied the fibres of the Dresden codex and found them identical with those of the living fig tree. Next he analyzed the Tro-Cortesianus codex of Madrid and the Persianus of Paris. Result the same. So too with the fibres of 23 Aztec codexes now extant in whole or fragments. Not a particle of change. Finally came specimens of paper made to-day from fig trees by the Otomí Indians. All these are identical, all completely different from the maguey fibre. The only possible source for existing specimens of early Mexican and Central American writing material is the fig tree.

It remains only for some competent and open-minded workman to take bast bark from a fig tree, follow the native method, compare the result with that of the early workmen and the Indians of to-day. Then in the same way, with the same honest purpose, take a leaf of maguey, follow the same path so far as practicable, and tell us what happens.

All a man needs for a check on Pliny's account of the making of papyrus is a stalk of the plant, which he can get from the nearest botanical garden growing the papyrus, follow Pliny, and he will find himself turning out a more or less satisfactory sheet of papyrus. I've done it, know the result would be better with practice, but am sure Pliny knew what he was talking about when he told his story.

Dr. von Hagen gives his comments in detail, offers a record of careful examination of documentary sources, of extensive field exploration, of honest effort to get to the facts, to learn the truth.

His tale might be presented more logically, with better development of theme, with less theatrical Hollywood pictures of the way the haughty tribute collector at Tepoztlan strode with swirling embroidered robe and squeaking jaguar-skin sandals as he inspected the tribute rolls. As to such a scene an impish query might perhaps be voiced asking if perchance now and then an inspector might have been found who had been "seen" before the visit, might have winked a solemn eye as he checked a short weight

offering and passed it after the proper signal had been given by the confederate.

But the purple splashes are dashed on only here and there. They may perhaps serve a useful purpose. Possibly. They need not overthrow the impressive evidence of careful work on library tables, on laboratory slides, on widespread expeditions in Honduras, Puebla, many other places.

The plates give excellent pictures of scenes connected with the record, reproductions from manuscripts and from laboratory slides, two samples of fig-tree paper witchcraft charms. References and footnotes aplenty. A bibliography. No index.

HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

MEXICO. SECRETARIA DE LA ECONOMIA NACIONAL. DIRECCION GENERAL DE ESTADISTICA. *Bibliografía Mexicana de Estadística* [device] Tomo I [-II] . . . Mexico [1941-1942]. 2 vols. Vol. I: 696 pp. Vol. II: 772, [1] pp. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 inches. (Contents: Vol. I: Generalidades. — Teoría y Aplicaciones Metodológicas. — Demografía. — Estadística Social. — Estadística Económica. — Estadística Administrativa. — Geografía. Vol. II: Historia. — Lingüística. — Publicaciones Periódicas. — Cartografía. — Títulos Complementarios.)

The two-volume bibliography of Mexican statistics published by the Federal Statistical Bureau of Mexico makes a substantial contribution to the national bibliography of Mexico in a rather specialized field, particularly for the printed materials of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

For the Mexican printed books from 1539 to 1800 there is a continuous series of bibliographies prepared and printed in Mexico. For the sixteenth century there is García Icazbalceta published in 1886, and in addition there is the recent work of Emilio Valton (1935). For the seventeenth century there is Andrade, the second edition of which was published in 1899. For the eighteenth century there is the work of Nicolás León, printed from 1902 to 1908, with some parts still remaining unpublished. In addition to these there is the work of the great José Toribio Medina on the bibliography of the press in Mexico, 1539-1821, printed at Santiago, Chile, in eight volumes from 1907 to 1912. The enormous increase in the output of the press particularly after the independence of Mexico in 1821 has baffled all attempts at over-all coverage.

In the second edition (1942) of his *Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies*, C. K. Jones includes more than six hundred titles under Mexico. Among these one can scarcely fail to note the systematic support in preparation of bibliographical work, particularly for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, extended by the Government of Mexico especially through the publication of the thirty-one volumes in the series *Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas*, 1925-1935, under the auspices of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, nine volumes of the series *Bibliografías Mexicanas* published in the years 1937-1940 by the Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad (DAPP), and later by the Secretaría de Educación Pública. Renewed emphasis to the support of bibliography is evidenced by a circular of January 8, 1943, from the President of the Republic which among other things ordered each executive department of the government to prepare and publish a bibliography of its publications for the Book Fair and National Press Exhibit to be held in May, 1943.

Progress in the field of statistics in Mexico, official as well as private, had been so considerable that it seemed more and more necessary to prepare and publish the two-volume work under review. In the first place it would facilitate the location and compilation of statistical materials of all kinds. In the next place it would make known the titles of many more or less rare and little known publications likely to be of service to those interested in statistical studies. In the next place, it has taken into account the contents of the principal libraries private as well as public of Mexico City, most of these not having published catalogues and consequently not being easy to consult for persons living outside the Federal District or abroad. Further these two volumes give an over-all impression of the entire bibliographical production in the field of Mexican statistics considered in the broadest sense. Still further, the work makes it much easier to examine the relationships between statistics and the various branches of human knowledge. Finally, it has assembled so far as possible all the materials which can be utilized in compiling historical statistics and in preparing critical bibliographies in the same field.

The two compact volumes of the *Bibliografía Mexicana de Estadística* cover in classified arrangement not only demography, social statistics, economic statistics, administrative statistics, but geography, history, and cartography. In the total of 13,642 unannotated entries are to be noticed many very scarce local imprints, references now and then to manuscripts,

